

► RTZ has traditionally maintained a cosy relationship with the British Government. In the early 1970s, soon after RTZ had won its uranium monopoly, a senior civil servant in the Department of Trade was asked about the problem of securing strategic mineral supplies. He replied airily: 'If any question of a shortage of anything crops up, we just get on the telephone to RTZ, let them know, and leave the rest to them.'

The RTZ board has managed to attract a galaxy of stars from Westminster, Whitehall and even the Palace.

RTZ's Deputy Chairman, Lord Shackleton, served as a Defence Minister from 1964 to 1967. Lord Carrington became a director of RTZ after the 1974 election, when he lost his job as Defence Secretary. After he was appointed Foreign Secretary five years later, he was replaced at RTZ by Lord Charteris, who had just retired from the Queen's Household. RTZ once boasted about this catch by pointing out that although the company had lost Lord Carrington, Lord Charteris 'in his capacity as Private Secretary to the Queen, has travelled extensively throughout the whole overseas areas in which we operate, can also be of great value to us' in handling the firm's 'international political problems.' The Queen herself, incidentally, was at one point a major shareholder in RTZ.

RTZ has also maintained close links with the government's nuclear Establishment. Sir Alistair Frame, the company's Chief Executive, served as a director of both the UKAEA and the CEBG before joining RTZ in 1968. This was the year in which the UKAEA signed the controversial Rossing contract for the supply of Namibian uranium to the CEBG. □

POLITICS

The Fruitcake Right

DUNCAN CAMPBELL looks at the individuals behind next week's conference (see page 2), which is an attempt to set up a US-style 'New Right' in Britain

A GURU of the 'alternative society' who turned from selling domes and flying-saucers to importing roller skates, a film censor who was Edward Heath's personal assistant and a barrister who was one of Margaret Thatcher's secretaries may seem an unlikely base on which to erect the British version of America's Moral Majority. But this trio, in the form of the Coalition for Peace Through Security (CPS), have succeeded in raising tens of thousands of pounds.

Their organisation, CPS, has planned a 'hit list' of pro-disarmament MPs, harassed the BBC over its showing of documentaries on US defences, libelled and slandered CND and similar groups over alleged Soviet 'links', attempted to 'infiltrate' CND and campaigned widely, if quietly, for support to bring Reaganite politics to Britain.

Links between British Tories and the American 'New Right' are nothing new. In 1977 Sir Keith Joseph was entertained in

Washington by a number of 'New Rightists', including Milton Friedman, under the aegis of the Heritage Foundation. The Foundation's quarterly *Policy Review* has many British contributors — including Robert Moss of the Freedom Association, Stephen Haseler of the Social Democratic Alliance, and journalists Ronald Butt (*Sunday Times*), John O'Sullivan and T. E. Utleigh (*Daily Telegraph*). The Foundation was set up by Paul Weyrich, who is a leading speaker at next week's conference, and is financed by wealthy businessmen, some of whom — such as the brewer Joseph Coors — are prominent in Reagan's 'kitchen cabinet'.

The Coalition for Peace through Security was created last autumn by Edward Leigh, Tony Kerpel and Francis Leonard Holihan. Leigh, a 32-year-old barrister who used to work for Margaret Thatcher, is the prime mover. He was the Tory GLC councillor for Richmond until he lost his seat to the Liberals last year. He then set up a 'National Council for Civil Defence' in support of government policy. The NCCD is closely associated with the magazine *Protect and Survive Monthly*.

Tony Kerpel, leader of the Conservative group on Camden Council, is a 36-year-old former chairman of the Young Conservatives. He used to be a press officer in the Home Office; now he works for the British Board of Film Censors. He is well-known to Hampstead members of the World Disarmament Campaign for loud-mouthed barracking at their meetings. A few weeks ago he boasted to the *Daily Telegraph* of his part in organising the distribution of black propaganda leaflets outside a recent WDC conference.

The third member of the CPS triumvirate is Francis Leonard Holihan (he often uses his middle name as his surname), an American-born roller-skate importer and salesman based in Bristol. Holihan retains shoulder-length ginger hair from the days in the late Sixties and early Seventies when, according to his own account, he 'infiltrated' pop festivals, including Woodstock. He says that he was then a 'personal assistant for [a] special scientific advisor/strategy consultant to a top-level co-ordinating intelligence organisation' and later a 'presidential youth adviser to Nixon'. In the mid-1970s he became well-known to British people involved with 'alternative technology' for his 'tri-strut' domes and tents. At a community technology festival in Bath he demonstrated rotary designs for, he claimed, genuinely flyable flying saucers.

Holihan now makes his money from a roller-skate firm, Jasonbury Ltd, based at Backwell near Bristol. Since CPS began he has repeatedly tried to 'infiltrate' CND, first by posing as a journalist and then by offering them free roller-skate hire for sponsored events. Under his name of 'Francis Leonard', he has written for the

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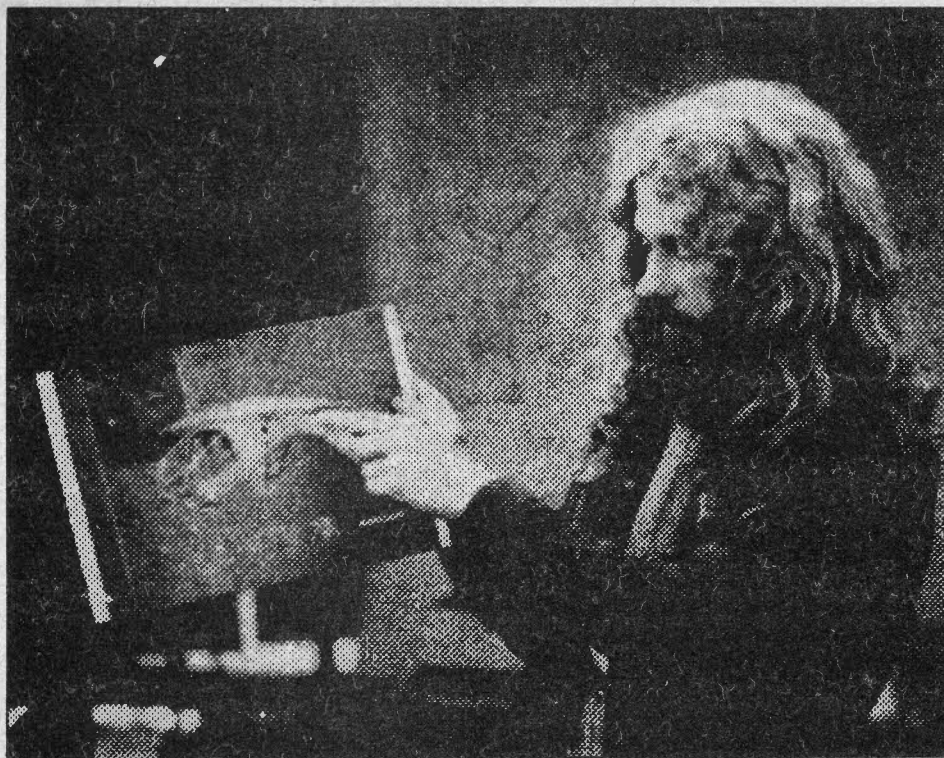
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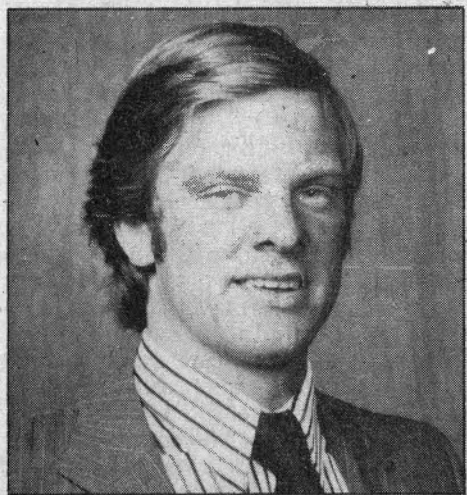
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Above: Francis Leonard Holihan turned from demonstrating flying saucers to organising the New Right. Below: Leigh and, beneath him, Kerpel.

Guardian and other papers, calling himself a 'freelance writer concentrating on defence issues'. When the BBC transmitted the CBS television series 'The Defence of America' he bombarded the BBC with letters of protest about supposed 'bias' and 'lack of realism'.

WHEN IT WAS formed last September,



the CPS set out to raise enough money – between £100,000 and £150,000 – to establish a full-time campaign office. It also has plans to 'target . . . MPs hostile to CPS objectives' by direct mailing to local media and constituents. The lecture on 'direct mail' techniques at next week's conference is to be given by a member of Reagan's White House staff, Morton Blackwell.

There are also plans to build up 'pro-

CPS' groups of MPs as a 'loose coalition' to 'firefight' CND and other campaigns.

The CPS works from several addresses: Holihan's roller-skate firm in Bristol, described as a 'conference centre'; a Whitehall address where Leigh works, described as their 'campaign office', which is in fact the home of the right-wing Foreign Affairs Research Institute; and another mailing address in Kensington High Street which, together with the phone and telex numbers on its letterhead, appears to belong to a mail-drop company.

The link between CPS and the New Right was firmly established when the trio visited Paul Weyrich and others at the Heritage Foundation in Washington last autumn. Agreement was reached on plans to start 'educating public opinion in Britain' the Heritage way.

Like many of its US counterparts, the CPS also aims to combine right-wing politicking with useful money-making activities. One of next week's speakers, Paul Tarrance, has made considerable sums in America by developing mailing lists and poll takings which can be sold to political lobbies and commercial companies.

Edward Leigh has also become involved with an American millionaire based in Britain, 'Chevalier' Harry Schultz, who has organised a 'survivalist' circle of wealthy businessmen. Leigh does not deny approaching Schultz for finance for CPS; since then he has been admitted, with his colleagues, into the inner circle – the 'Friends of Harry'. Members of this group swap notes on where there's 'easy money to be made', and on techniques for surviving nuclear war. ▶

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NS/7

► After a 'Friends' meeting in Bermuda last year, a 'communiqué' advised group members on how to avoid customs checks:

Flying your own plane: an added advantage is that anyone flying a private plane is not subject to the usual security checks at airports and thus can take aboard anything they please. Further, a light aircraft often avoids radar detection.

Another item advised on methods of acquiring 'alternative identities' and gave details of how to obtain a US passport in a

false name. Another 'communiqué' explained how to use a Swiss bank to move money around to remote countries so as to provide 'assets . . . for your use in an emergency situation' (*sic*).

The prevailing assumption of this group was that there were only 'these last 1-3 (safe) years' before war. Schultz has warned his associates, including Leigh and Holihan from CPS, that if they don't start planning for an imminent war 'you are not very serious about surviving'. □

RIGHT OF REPLY

Why we say no to the EEC

Six MEPs — Richard Balfe, Janey Buchan, Richard Caborn, Alf Lomas, Tom Megahy and Barry Seal — reply to their colleague Ann Clwyd

MANY good comrades within socialist parties in Western Europe are puzzled at the attitude of the British Labour Party towards the Common Market, equating the EEC with nationalism and isolationism. Ann Clwyd (*NS* 19 Feb.) repeats this myth and builds upon it to explain her reasons for changing her mind on the EEC. Membership of the Community, she argues is an act of internationalism; those who oppose it are isolationists and not true socialists.

What the Labour Party says is that our economic policies, our agricultural policies, our trade policies, should be decided within our own democratic bodies. They may be limited by objective economic realities, and by international negotiation — but they should not be limited by a document such as the Treaty of Rome, with its laws on the uninhibited flow of capital and the prevention of the planning of trade. These are the tenets of Thatcherism, not socialism.

Far from allowing greater control over multi-national corporations, the EEC and its treaties have given them greater freedom. More has been done to control their activities by such bodies as the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, and the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development.

Take the case history of Chrysler and Talbot. Chrysler, having operated a transfer-pricing ploy, was quite happy to let Chrysler UK collapse, filling the gap with imports from Chrysler-Simca France. Within two years, Talbot had closed down Linwood.

The consequences of such uninhibited and ruthless capitalism can be seen in our trade figures. We entered the EEC with a small surplus in our trade in manufactured goods with the EEC Six. By the end of the 1970s our deficit with them had climbed to £4 billion. This, in turn, has had a massive effect on employment.

'International solidarity in practice' is Ann Clwyd's verdict of her own achievement at having organised a meeting between British and Dutch workers. However, she had to arrange that outside the EEC structures and, as every trade union official knows, meetings have been taking place since long before the EEC

came into being.

She writes dismissively of 'the bickering over fish, apples, lamb'. Yet she knows Wales better than any of us. The argument about lamb happens to matter, as does that about fish. We have already surrendered the opportunity to have a 200-mile fishing zone, a 100-mile zone, a 50-mile zone. We are now fighting to get a 12-mile exclusive zone. Tell the people of Hull or Grimsby or Aberdeen or Brixham that this doesn't matter.

Or tell workers in the threatened British steel industry that the EEC's industrial policy has been 'international solidarity in practice'. Under the Davignon Plan UK production has declined year by year. It has slumped from 28 million tonnes a year to 14 million tonnes, while that of West Germany has been maintained at 40 million tonnes.

It is now argued that the French Socialist Government under President Mitterrand has shown that truly socialist policies to reverse industrial decline are possible within the EEC. But will he push his challenge to the EEC? If he does, he will run foul of the treaties and end up as the last British Government did — ordered to change its policy to conform with EEC rules. Indeed, the French Socialists are proving the British Labour Party's point, saying, in effect, that the EEC laws, though drafted to suit France and West Germany, have to be smashed to achieve socialism.

In any case, socialists should make judgements on results, not on what might happen. The EEC's 'anti-poverty programme' came to an end in 1980, just as the recession was deepening. Commissioner Giolitti, who was in charge of it, admitted that the gap between rich and poorer regions had actually increased while the programme was in operation. After 22 years of the Common Market there are now over 30 million of its citizens living in poverty.

The EEC was set up by capitalism to protect itself during the period when it was developing more and more towards internationally organised capital. It was not set up to combat the multinationals; it was set up by them. Can anyone name one solitary achievement of the EEC that is truly an advance for socialism? □

APARTHEID

An olive branch for Mr Botha

JOHN KANE-BERMAN reports from South Africa on the Buthelezi Commission's offer

TO THOSE who believe that revolution is just around the corner in South Africa, it may seem incredible that internal black leaders should consider political proposals so conciliatory as those of the Buthelezi Commission, whose report was released here this week. After all, the Commission itself found that there is a substantial increase in verbal support for violent strategies even among rural blacks, who are not commonly viewed in South Africa as militant. It found also that the black middle class, the very people whom Pretoria wishes to buy off with material comforts, is getting increasingly angry, and that the level of anger among the membership of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's own Inkatha movement is often higher than among blacks in general.

Two considerations were paramount in Buthelezi's mind when he appointed the Commission (of which he was not a member, and to whose report he has yet to respond): first, white politics are bogged down in sterility and uncertainty, and the time is therefore ripe for a formal black political proposal, the first in South Africa's history; secondly, emancipation by revolutionary violence is not a realistic option for blacks, given the overwhelming economic and military might of Pretoria and its ability to wreak havoc on any neighbouring state that provides bases for insurgents. Central to the Commission's thinking is the view that it would be futile simply to reiterate the traditional black demand for universal suffrage in a unitary state, for this would be automatically and bluntly rejected (as it always has been) by the vast majority of whites, including the official opposition.

The great strength of the black demand for parliamentary representation is fully recognised by the Commission, which, however, believes that it should be left in abeyance for the moment while a more immediate objective is sought, namely a form of multi-racial government in Natal province, of which the Kwazulu 'homeland' forms part. The Commission is determined that its proposals should not be an academic exercise which would at once be thrown into Pretoria's waste-paper basket, but that it should be feasible in the short term in the prevailing political climate, in which whites are terrified of majority rule.

As a first step, the white provincial ad-